

Peasant Names in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia

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The historian who is engaged in the study of Byzantine social history is faced with a problem common to pre-industrial societies, or societies in which the majority of the population is both exploited and illiterate.* The sources, written as they are by an upper class and largely *for* an upper class, give relatively abundant information about a small segment of the population, leaving us in darkness about the rest of society. In Byzantine history this is particularly true about the peasantry, which has left us only a very few sources of its own, and rather uninspiring ones at that. The Byzantine upper class wrote its own history, but the Byzantine peasants did not, thus making the task of the modern historian more difficult. Despite these problems, work has been done on both the urban and the rural population of the Empire, and more will probably be done as monastic archives become available. The study of the Byzantine peasantry is of primary importance. For if we are to understand Byzantine society, we must study and understand what happened in the countryside. After all, the Byzantine economy rested on agriculture, and the social relations which determined the fate of the state were, primarily, the social relations prevalent in the countryside.

A serious study of the Byzantine peasant family is one of the tasks which should be undertaken. The present essay on peasant names is intended as a small contribution in that direction.

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Names are seen here primarily as means of social identification. People identify themselves, or are identified by someone else, in this case the state, by a shorthand which in Byzantine society consists of a baptismal name and some other form of identification: possibly a profession, or an indication of geographical origin, or a nickname, or an indication of relationship to someone else. The method of identification which prevails in a society is interesting in itself. It may show economic differentiation or social stratification; it may suggest movements of migration; it may give us an idea of kinship patterns. Baptismal names also show us the patterns of family relationships: children may be habitually named after the paternal or the maternal grandparents, after the parents, after a dead brother or sister. Names may show folk adherence to a patron saint of the district, and they tell us how strictly the population adhered to the Christian calendar: the fourteenth-century peasant women named Thalassene, or Archonto, the men named Petraleiphas or Laodikenos, may have been given a Christian name at baptism, but did not use it.¹

What is of interest here is the development of 'proper' or 'family' names out of a primitive means of identification, which consisted of the baptismal name and a second identifying factor; both these means of identification would be valid for one person and one generation alone. On the contrary, 'proper' or 'family'

1. Identification of names which appear in *praktika* will be made in the following fashion: the name of the monastery will be given, followed by the name of the village in which the household appears, followed by the date of the *apographe* (reassessment) and the serial number of the household. Each particular *praktikon* will be identified only in the first reference to each village and *apographe*. The names mentioned in the text will be found in: F. Dölger, 'Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon', *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Klasse*, XXVIII (1949), Kato Volvos, 1341, 8; unpublished *praktikon* for Lavra, no. 109 of the Collège de France, Gomatou, 1321, 27; Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1317, 2; unpublished *praktikon* of Vatopedi, Collège de France no. 334, Zavarnikeia, 11. This is an undated *praktikon*, but it probably dates from or after 1325, since it mentions the 'theme of Christoupolis': cf. G. I. Theocharides, *Tà κατεπάνκια τῆς Μακεδονίας* (Thessaloniki, 1954), p. 66. The unpublished *praktika* which I use in this article have been made available to me by Professor Paul Lemerle of the Collège de France. I wish to thank him and his colleagues, especially Professor N. Svoronos and Miss D. Papachryssanthou, for the great kindness and courtesy they extended to me.

names identify a family over time, remaining stable over several generations. In the case of the 'great' families, the establishment of 'proper' names came early; proud Byzantine aristocrats at the end of the Empire could trace their ancestry legitimately back to the tenth century, and somewhat fraudulently back to Rome.² There are many reasons for this development. For one thing, heritability of property makes it necessary to identify a family over the generations. Also a family which had served in the army or the bureaucracy, which had approached or reached the throne, had reasons of pride to pass on its name to the next generations, and future generations had every reason to keep the name: the proper name of the Palaeologi, for example, was Doukas, Angelos, Komnenos, Palaiologos. The Byzantine peasants could inherit property, although the kinds of property they could inherit varied over time. The other factors which were involved in the establishment of family names among the aristocracy, however, did not obtain in the peasant class. Even for the purpose of inheriting property, it is entirely possible that a closed peasant society could rely on memory and on stated family relationships. It was, I think, an external factor which precipitated a trend towards the development of 'proper' names. This external factor was the imperial bureaucracy. In fact, the influence of the state is visible even in modern Greece, where the stability of family names dates, in the majority of cases, only back to the establishment of a modern state, with its fiscal and military exigencies.

In the late Byzantine period, we can see the beginnings of the process through which personal, individual, identification of peasants was being transformed into inter-generational identification. This was a slow process, which seems to have been interrupted in the course of the Turkish occupation. It was, none the less, visible in the fourteenth century, and occurred because of the formalization of social relations of a particular kind in the countryside. Lay and ecclesiastical landlords received, by imperial grant, lands and revenues; the landlords were also granted peasant families, the *paroikoi*, who made these

2. A. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development', *Viator*, IV (1973), 134-40, and n. 11, with a bibliography of some of the most important modern studies of Byzantine families.

lands productive and who, in any case, paid to the landlord the taxes they had once paid to the imperial treasury.³ As far as one can see, the individual peasant head of household was responsible for the payment of his tax, although it is possible that some form of collective tax responsibility still existed. In other words, there was, and there had been since the eleventh century, an individual fiscal responsibility in place of the communal one which is commonly associated with the seventh through the tenth centuries. In the fourteenth century, and partly as a result of this process, the peasant families of *paroikoi* were listed on inventories, along with the other sources of revenue which were ceded to the landlords. In the periodic reassessment of the possessions and revenues of landlords, the lists of peasant households were repeated, and the need to identify the households over time helped to solidify the 'proper' names.

The sources through which one may study the family formation and the slow evolution of family names of the Byzantine peasantry are quite numerous for the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and can be found primarily in monastic archives. They are of three major types: 1. Acts of sale of property by peasants to the monastery.⁴ 2. Lists of monastic properties which mention the names of peasants, either because these are neighbours of the monastery or because they have

3. G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), *passim*; B. T. Gorjanov, *Pozdnevizantiiskii feodalizm* (Moscow, 1962); K. V. Hvostova, *Osobnosti agrarnopravovykh otnoshenii v pozdnei vizantii xiv–xv vv.* (Moscow, 1968). I should like to list also some of the demographic studies which have appeared on the late Byzantine peasantry: D. Jacoby, 'Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles', *Etudes rurales*, V–VI (1962), 161–82; N. K. Kondov, 'Demographische Notizen über die Landbevölkerung aus dem Gebiet des unteren Strymon in der ersten Hälfte des XIV Jahrhunderts', *Études Balkaniques*, II–III (1965), 261–72; N. K. Kondov, 'Za broja na naselenieto v B'lgarija k'm kraja na xiv v.', *Istoricheski pregled*, XXIV, 5 (1968), 65–9. See also Otto Mazal, 'Die Praktika des Athosklosters Xeropotamou. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts', *JÖBG*, XVII (1968), 85–115. On names in the Morea, see Eva Topping's Appendix I in J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1969), pp. 221–31.

4. See, for example, Jacques Bompaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou*, in the series *Archives de l'Athos*, published by Paul Lemerle (Paris, 1964), no. 16.

acted in some legal capacity, usually as witnesses.⁵ 3. *Praktika*, that is, inventories of the properties ceded to or confirmed in the possession of a landlord, usually in this case the monastery. The *praktika* were intended as fiscal records, and their usefulness for anything else must be measured against this fact. They provide some economic information, on the taxable property of the peasant household, for example, and they can be made to yield demographic information; but they must be used carefully. The household, as it appears on a *praktikon*, is a fiscal unit; it is a unit consisting of certain people and some property, which pays a certain amount of tax. Any other information which the historian gleans from the *praktikon* is limited by the fact that the purpose of the *apographeus*, the censor, was solely fiscal. Even with this limitation, the *praktika* are by far the most useful sources for this study, since they include not only the name of the head of household, as do the first two kinds of sources, but also the names of the entire household, whether that consists of a single family or of several families. All members of the household are identified through their relationship to the head of household. A typical entry is Ἰωάννης ὁ γαμβρὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ Χαλκέως ἔχει Εἰρήνην, υἱοὺς Μιχαὴλ καὶ Δημήτριον, γυναικάδελφον Νικόλαον. ('Ioannes, in-law of Demetrios Chalkeus, has Eirene, sons Michael and Demetrios, brother-in-law Nicholas.')⁶ When the fiscal unit consists of several families, the head of each is identified by his or her relationship to the head of the household, while *within* each family the various members are identified by their relationship to the head of the family, as can be seen in the following example: Πάγκαλος ὁ Καλοπτητος. ἔχει Σνεαγούλαν, υἱοὺς Θεόδωρον καὶ Γεώργιον, θυγατέρας Ζούγλαν, Ἄνναν καὶ Ζωήν, . . . Μπελεάνος ὁ ἐπ' ἀνεψιᾷ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἔχει Θεοδώραν, υἱοὺς Γεώργιον καὶ Πάγκαλον. . . . ('Pangalos Kaloptetos has Sneagoula, sons Theodoros and Georgios, daughters Zougla, Anna and Zoe . . . Beleanos, the husband of his niece, has Theodora, sons Georgios and Pangalos . . .')⁷

5. From the numerous possible examples, I cite L. Petit, B. Korablev, *Actes de l'Athos, V: Actes de Chilandar, Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XVII, Appendix I (1911), nos. 28, 55.

6. Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 1.

7. Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Voriskos, 1316, 1.

The *praktika* are also particularly useful sources because they sometimes form a time-series. There were periodic *apographai* (reassessments) in the first half of the fourteenth century, the most important ones being those of the years 1300–1, 1317–18, 1321, and 1341, and some monastic domains appear on all of the major *apographai*. This permits us to establish generational ties extending to a period of fifty years or more, and thus allows family relationships to emerge with some clarity. I will here make use mostly of these monastic domains which do have a time-series, even if that stops in 1321. The geographical area of concentration consists of the themes of Thessaloniki and Strymon, that is of central and south-eastern Macedonia, with occasional references to the area around Strumica. The number of households under discussion is certainly large enough for statistical analysis. My observations are based on 407 entries for 1300–1, 958 entries for 1321, and 180 entries for 1341 in the theme of Thessaloniki alone.⁸ This by no means constitutes the entire data bank, and does not include the theme of Strymon, which will also be discussed.

In discussing the formation and typology of ‘proper’ names, we are dealing for the most part with the heads of households or families; the other members of the family are only rarely given more than a baptismal name, since this is unnecessary for the purposes of the *apographe*. The heads of families or households are identified in a number of ways.

1. They may have both a baptismal and a second name. The second name may designate a craft or profession, or may be a toponymic, or a nickname or derive from a nickname. Occasionally, a man may have two ‘second’ names. ‘Theodoros Tzykalas’ identifies Theodore the potter by a name deriving from a craft. ‘Widow Anatolike’ identifies a woman through a toponymic. Θεόδωρος Ἀβράκωτος (‘Theodore sans-culotte’) is a nickname. Finally, there is the case of the double

8. The sample includes domains of the monasteries of Lavra, Iveron, Xenophon, Zographou, Chilandar, and Xeropotamou. The villages in which these domains are situated are: Gomatou, Selas, Metalin, Gradista, Melintziani, Ierissos, Ano Volvos, Kato Volvos, Xylorygion, Stomion, Gournai, Agia Euphemia, Sarantarea, Pinsson, Karbaioi, Skylochorion, Panagia, Neochori, Krya Pegadia, Paschali, Genna, Lorothon, Psalidofourna-Neakitou, Epano Antigonia, Leipsohorion, Eunouhou.

identification, for example 'Demetrios Tzangarios Voulerenos', that is, Demetrios the shoe-maker from Voleron.⁹

2. Identification may be made on the basis of relationship with others, for example, *Ἰωάννης, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χαλκέως*. In this case also it is possible to have multiple identification, through profession, or toponymic, and relationship. Such is the case of *Ἰωάννης Τζαγκάριος ὁ γαμβρὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζυκαλᾶ, ἦτοι ὁ Ψυχοπράτης*, in which Ioannes is identified as 'the shoe-maker, in-law of Tzykalas, the Soul-Seller'.

3. It is finally possible to have the head of a household identified by nothing but the baptismal name. This category, a rather small one, consists of men with very little or no property, sometimes of *eleutheroi*, and usually appears at the end of the list of households of a particular domain, where one finds the newer families and those with little connection with the rest of the villagers.

Table I below shows the breakdown of the population of the theme of Thessaloniki, as indicated above, in terms of 'proper' names. The 'eleutheroi' are peasants, usually very poor, who are designated variously as 'poor' and 'free and unknown to the fisc'.¹⁰

TABLE I

	<i>Name from craft</i>		<i>Toponymic</i>		<i>Nickname</i>		<i>From relationship</i>		<i>First name only</i>	
1300	(69)	17%	(73)	18%	(146)	36%	(156)	38%	(8)	2%
1321	(159)	17%	(180)	19%	(433)	45%	(339)	35%	(17)	2%
1341	(19)	11%	(40)	22%	(90)	50%	(76)	42%	(3)	2%
	<i>Eleutheroi</i>									
	(8)	27%	(7)	23%	(12)	40%	(0)		(1)	3%

The percentages for any given year add up to more than 100%, because of frequent double identification. The numbers in parentheses represent absolute figures.

Names deriving from crafts or professions

Of the names derived from crafts or professions, the most common are Tzangares and Kalligas (shoe-maker), Chalkeus (smith), Raptēs (tailor), Tzykalas (potter), Yfantēs (weaver), while less common ones are Pelekanos (carpenter), Skiadas (tent- or hat-maker), Mylonas (miller), Tzepeas (hoe-maker), Vagenas (barrel-maker), Ktistes (mason), Gounaras (furrier), Kepouros

9. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 30; Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 41; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 45.

10. Ostrogorsky, *Feodalité*, pp. 330–47.

(gardener), Makellares (butcher), Krasopolia (wine-seller), Neropoles (water-seller), Alieus (fisherman), Flevotomos (one who opens veins, i.e. a doctor). I have also included in this category the designations 'iereus' (priest) and 'diakonos' (deacon), although most frequently these really do describe the man's profession rather than being a name.

The question naturally arises whether these designations refer to a man's current craft, or whether, having once served this purpose, they degenerated into names by the fourteenth century. Since both cases seem to have existed at the same time, there is no simple answer to this question, nor is it easy to devise a means by which one might differentiate between the two cases. It might be thought that, if the designations referred to crafts or professions currently exercised by the head of household, the tax base for such households would be different than for the rest of the population. This, however, is not so, although individual differences can be detected, specifically in the cases of some priests. Even theoretically this is an incorrect approach to the problem, for it seems that the tax base consisted of draught-animals, vineyards, gardens, and fruit-trees, and was not influenced by other factors. So, the answer must be sought elsewhere.

In some cases there is no ambiguity. Such is the case of the widow *Πλουμῶ* who had a son *Γεώργιος Τζυκαλᾶς*, 'George the potter'. The same can be said of *Μιχαὴλ ὁ Νεροπώλης, ὁ αὐτὸς Πελεκάνος*, that is, 'Michael the water-seller; he is a carpenter'.¹¹ Such clear references to people's crafts, however, are few. Somewhat more common, or perhaps easier to discern, is clear evidence that the description of a craft has become a proper name. Such an example appears in Gomatou, in the domain of the monastery of the Great Lavra. It is the case of households no. 25 and 26 of the *apographe* of 1300. The first entry reads: 'widow Kale, wife of Constantinos the Pelekites'. Entry 26 reads 'Demetrios, her other son'. This does not tell us whether the designation 'Pelekites', which had properly belonged to Kale's deceased husband, was a family name or the indication of a craft. The answer is found in the *apographe* of

11. Lavra, unpublished *praktikon* of 1300, no. 91 of the Collège de France, Gomatou, 62; Lavra, no. 109 of the Collège de France, Selas, 1321, 121; Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Melintziani, 1341, 18.

1321. Household no. 24 is headed by 'Widow Theodora Pelekito'. She had been the wife of Demetrios, and clearly the name 'Pelekites' is or has become a proper name.

Another case in the same village shows, perhaps, the very process of change, from professional designation to family name. It is the case of the family which constituted households no. 45 and 46 in 1300, and 68, 69 in 1321. In 1300, household no. 45 is headed by *Μιχαήλ Σκιαδάς ὁ γαμβρός Θεοδώρας χήρας τῆς Δαμασκοῦς*, 'Michael Skiadas, the in-law of widow Theodora Damaskou'. Household no. 46 is headed by *Φωτεινός Ῥάπτης, ὁ ἕτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ*, 'Foteinos Raptēs, his other son'. Michael's son Foteinos is almost certainly a tailor. In the next generation, however, the name Raptēs, which has been retained, has become a family name and no longer has any professional significance. Thus, in 1321, Foteinos' two sons, Georgios and Kyriakos, are both identified as 'Raptēs'. The stability of this family name is not very great. The (presumably) eldest son is identified as *Γεώργιος Ῥάπτης ὁ Φωτεινός*, and it is probable that his son would eventually be known as Foteinos rather than as Raptēs. Thus a baptismal name became a family name, in a not uncommon process.

In the same village of Gomatou, in the domain of Lavra, a widow Maria, identified in 1300 as 'the (daughter?)-in-law of Georgios Tzykalas', appears in 1321 as 'Widow Maria Tzykalo'—the name of her presumed father-in-law, who may or may not have been a potter, has become her own proper name.¹²

While it is unnecessary to multiply the examples, it is important to mention that in those households which have a time-series down to the *apographe* of 1341, that is which continue for three or more generations, there is remarkable stability in the family names. This is a phenomenon which one may observe in general, that is, regardless of the way the family name is formed, but which also applies to the particular case of names which once had designated professions.¹³ One example should

12. Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 58; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 80.

13. There is a certain tautology in this observation, since one way of identifying a time-series household is precisely through the continuity of names. This, however, is not the only way; one can discover continuity by looking at the landed property of the various peasant families, by following the various family relationships, and even by the place of the household in the

suffice, from the domain of the monastery of Iveron, in the village of Gomatou, where the second household in 1301 is headed by 'Theodoros Tzykalas'. By 1317, Theodoros is dead, and the household is headed by his daughter, *χήρα Ζωή ἡ Τζυκαλῶ*. Notice that she keeps her father's name, not that of her husband. In 1341, the family continues in the person of Zoe's daughter Anna, who is also a widow and retains her grandfather's name, being designated as *Ἄννα χήρα ἡ Τζυκαλῶ*. Thus, Tzykalas is a proper name, which has survived at least three generations.¹⁴

An example of a counter-case should also be given. It concerns the set of households which in 1300 was headed by Nikolaos Pissianos. One of his nieces (or possibly a daughter) named Anna, married Ioannes Tzangares, who heads the household in 1317 and in 1321. He is designated as *Ἰωάννης Τζαγκάρης ὁ γαμβρὸς τοῦ Πισσιάνου*, 'Ioannes Tzangares, in-law of Pissianos', and it is not certain whether he is a shoe-maker or not. By 1341 he is dead, and his widow, Anna, retains her maiden-name, being designated as *Ἄννα, χήρα ἡ τοῦ Πισσιάνου*. The name Tzangares has been discontinued, either because it really did designate the man's craft, and therefore did not persist after his death, or—which is more likely—because Anna's marital connection was considered less important than her kinship tie with the Pissianoι, who seem to have been an established family in the village.¹⁵

Thus, in the case of names deriving from crafts, one can see a developing process. Sometimes a craft is designated; at other times, the designation has become a family name, with varying degrees of stability. In the village of Gomatou, with a known population of 562 in 1300 (130 households), the following crafts are represented in the names of either the heads or one of the members of households: two Kapasas (hatter), seven Tzykalas, three Chalkeus (I do not include such designations as 'Ioannes, son of Chalkeus', or 'Ioannes, in-law of Chalkeus'), seven Tzangares and one widow Kalliga, six Raptēs, two Skiadas, two with the name Pelekites, three 'iereus' (priests), one Alieus

praktikon, since, in general, old families were placed before new additions.

14. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Gomatou, 1317, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 2; Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 26.

15. Dölger, op. cit., Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 10; 1317, 9; 1321, 9; 1341, 5.

(fisherman), one Mylonas (miller).¹⁶ Of these, the priests certainly do exercise their profession; there are also three potters, four shoe-makers, one smith, three tailors and one possible tent- or hat-maker (Skiadas) who can be assumed, with greater or lesser certainty, to be exercising the craft whose name they bear.¹⁷ On the other hand, it is certain that the professional designations have become names in the case of four Tzykalas, one Kalligas, two Pelekites, and one Chalkeus.¹⁸

In a village of 562 people, then, there would be three priests and what seems like an adequate number of potters and shoe-makers, while three 'tailors', whatever that may be, seems extravagant. There is a noticeable absence of saddle-makers. One smith is probably not sufficient in a village where the main economic activities centred on agriculture, and where, therefore, there were various implements to be made or repaired. It is more than possible that one or more of the other men bearing the name 'Chalkeus' did in fact exercise the profession. But they are harder to detect, since 'Chalkeus' seems to have already become an established name. This is suggested by the relatively high number of people related to men named Chalkeus who do not, themselves, appear on the *praktikon*. Of the many such examples, I mention 'Ioannes, in-law of Chalkeus', 'Ioannes, son of Chalkeus', 'Ioannes, son of Michael Chalkeus'.¹⁹

16. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 36; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 7; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2, 9, 20; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 59, 62, 66, 69, 41, 42, 53; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 27, 45; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 20, 48, 56, 63, 16, 73; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 42; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 3, 4, 10, 52, 46, 28, 45, 25, 26, 9; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 34, 37; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 1, 77.

17. Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 62, 66, 69, 48, 42, 10, 46, 52, 45; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 16, 27, 45: For the possible interpretation of Skiadas as tent-maker, see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, σκιάδειον, and Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, σκιάδιον.

18. Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 59, 73, 25, 26, 53; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2, 9, 10, 33. In 1321, there were in Gomatou seven Tzykalas, one Chalkeus, nine Tzangares, five Raptēs, two Yfantēs, six Skiadas, a widow Pelekito, a widow Kapasa and an Anna Keporia (gardener). Two priests, one potter, two shoe-makers, one tailor, one weaver, and possibly one tent- or hat-maker exercised their professions: Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 10; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 9, 59, 18, 96, 10, 14, 67. The number of known *paroikoi* in Gomatou at that time was 538 (150 households).

19. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 1, 5; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 36.

In terms of the economics of village life, it is interesting to observe that most of the necessities of life could be provided by craftsmen resident in the village itself. These craftsmen, it must once again be noted, were not distinguishable from the rest of the villagers in terms of taxable property, although it is possible that they participated less actively than the others in farming the lands of the monastery. The degree of occupational differentiation among villagers was not very great, since for most of the craftsmen their craft was a secondary economic activity. Still, the occupational differentiation seems striking if we compare it with that of the eleventh- and twelfth-century *paroikoi* for whom some scanty information exists. In the *praktikon* given to Andronikos Doukas in 1073, there are forty-eight households whose heads are identifiable by name. Among the forty-eight, there is one Sideras, who seems to be exercising his craft, one Orofylax, one *Χηνάριος* (goose-keeper?), one Marmaras and one widow Sapouna (soap-maker). Together, the names deriving from crafts make up 11 per cent of the population, and of these the smith, and possibly the orofylax (boundary-guard? mountain guard?) may be exercising their craft.²⁰ From two documents of the late twelfth century, we can identify another forty-seven heads of household; in one of the documents all the *paroikoi* except one are identified *solely* by their relationship to someone else; the exception is a man identified as Chalkeus, who certainly was a smith. The reason for this certainty is that, the usual entry being 'X, son (or brother) of Y', the man who interests us is identified as *Παγκράτιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ χαλκεύς, ζευγαράτος*, i.e. 'Pangratos, his brother, smith, zeugaratos'. Were 'Chalkeus' a name, the entry would have read: *Παγκράτιος χαλκεύς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ*.²¹

Thus, from the little information we have from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it seems that the population of *paroikoi* comprised few craftsmen, and that the names deriving from crafts were correspondingly few. A possible explanation is that in this period grants of *paroikoi* were sporadic, and the number

20. F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi*, VI (Vienna, 1890), pp. 7–13.

21. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra, Première partie, des origines à 1204* (*Archives de l'Athos* [Paris, 1970]), nos. 64 (1162), 65 (1181).

of *paroikoi* in a domain was not very large; possibly, the grant was primarily of men whose sole activity was agriculture. In the first half of the fourteenth century, by contrast, great numbers of *paroikoi* were granted to a landlord, so that the majority of the population of an entire village might consist of *paroikoi*; as a result, the distribution of craftsmen in the population of *paroikoi* would be substantially the same as that in the village. From the twelfth century also, we have some lists of names and jobs of monks in the great monasteries of Mount Athos. Two such lists from Lavra show the following professions or crafts: *Ναύκληρος, αποθηκάρης, μάγειρος, τζαγγάρης, βαγενάρης, κελλάρης, ἀμπελικός, ράπτης, ὕφαντής, οἰκονόμος, παρεκκλησιάρης, ἀλίας (=ἀλιεύς?), ἀναγνώστης, ξυλουργός, μαῖιστωρ, οἰκοδόμος, κελλαρίτης, τζυκαλᾶς, σχοινοπλόκος*, i.e. shipbuilder, steward, cook, shoemaker, barrel-maker, vineyard tender (?), tailor, weaver, churchwarden, fisherman, carpenter, reader, rope-maker, potter.²² Of these, only some appear as names in the eleventh century: Tzangares, Vagenares, Raptēs, Yfantes, Tzykalas, Pelekanos (shoemaker, barrel-maker, tailor, weaver, potter, carpenter), suggesting I think that these crafts were commonly exercised by the peasants, while others, such as those of cook, cellarer, reader, rope-maker, boat-maker were not.

Toponymics

These form an important category, and as can be seen from Table I, their proportion increases slightly with time. The interpretation one might give to this observation depends on one's ability to distinguish recent immigration from ancient movements. For example, the name 'Anatolikos' clearly indicates that the family which bears it came from the 'East', presumably from Asia Minor. However, this is of little interest, unless it can be established that the family—and others like it—emigrated from Asia Minor within a comparatively short period, say one or two generations before the *apographe*. If the approximate date of immigration is unknown, then the fact that the family came once from Asia Minor is not very useful.

Because of this difficulty, the historian should be very careful in his interpretation of the data presented here. However, I

²² Ibid., no. 62 (1154), and Appendix 1.

think that some suggestions may be safely made. First, it is very likely that peasant 'family' names did not have much stability before the early thirteenth century, and perhaps not even then. Thus, whatever the exact date of immigration into Macedonia of people whose names suggest that they came from other regions, it probably does not exceed one hundred years. Secondly, one can ascribe with some degree of certainty probable dates to immigration from various parts of the Empire. Immigration from Greece, as suggested by names such as Thebaïos, Korinthios, Moraites, could be as old as the Latin occupation, but has no reason to be; it is more likely that the emigration in question followed the re-establishment of Byzantine power in Macedonia, and perhaps even the re-establishment of the empire at Constantinople. Immigrants from the islands of the Aegean—i.e. people bearing the names Lemnaïos, Nesiotes, Naxeïotes—probably came to Macedonia in the second half of the thirteenth century, after the wars of Michael VIII with the remaining Latin states had made life on the islands uncertain. The uncertainty persisted and even increased in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, because of the continuing presence of pirates in the Aegean.²³ As for Asia Minor, immigration from that region, at least in so far as it can be detected from peasant names, was much more limited than might be expected. The narrative sources, especially Pachymeres, speak of large-scale emigration of the population of Asia Minor in the very early years of the fourteenth century; true, Pachymeres says that they went into the islands of the Propontis and into Constantinople and Thrace, and there is no mention of further displacement to Macedonia.²⁴ One would have expected, however, that if there had been large-scale immigration of Anatolian peasants, a significant number of them would have appeared, as monastic *paroikoi*, in Macedonia. Indeed, some suggestion of recent immigration from Asia Minor does exist. While the name Anatolikos is too dubious,

23. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, 'Villages désertés en Grèce, un bilan provisoire', in *Villages désertés et histoire économique. Les hommes et la terre*, XI (Paris, 1965), p. 364.

24. S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 253–7; A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins; The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 90–1.

other names are not: the presence of the proper name Prousenos, or the baptismal names Nikaia and Laodikenos, indicates that the bearers, or their immediate forefathers, had come from Asia Minor.²⁵ The number of such immigrants, however, is small, and does not increase significantly from the *apographe* of 1300–1 to that of 1321, as it would have done had the battle of Bapheus been followed by a great exodus of the population.

In all three *apographai* under discussion, the greatest number of toponymics comes from Macedonia itself but, of course, outside the domain in which these families are found. This is an expected and logical situation. It simply means that the population of *paroikoi*, which was a surprisingly mobile one, moved more easily within rather confined boundaries. Names like Fourneiotes, Kasandrenos, Melenikeiotes, Ravenikiotes, Didymoteichites, Zigniotes, indicate that the families had migrated within Macedonia, from one domain and one region to another. Interestingly enough, the majority of such cases does not consist of *eleutheroi*, who might have been assumed to have had the greatest freedom of movement. On the contrary, we are dealing with *paroikoi* who in juridical and economic terms are indistinguishable from the others, but who had moved within Macedonia; at any given time, they made up between 7 per cent and 9 per cent of the peasant population of the monastic domains. One notices that their proportion to the rest of the peasant population increases slightly from 1300 to 1341, while their proportion to the rest of the families whose names are toponymics increases from 37 per cent to 50 per cent in the same period. It is possible to argue that the displacement—or opportunity for movement—which these figures suggest was the result of the civil wars of the 1320s, which created a situation of some uncertainty in Macedonia.

The heading 'Other Nationalities' in Table II (below) refers to names such as 'Alvanites', or 'Vlachos' and 'Vlachopoulos', or 'Armenopoulos', and is one which I am not prepared to interpret at the moment. It seems, on the face of it, unlikely that a man named 'Armenopoulos' should have any recent connection with Armenia. However, such names do connote

²⁵. Unpublished *praktikon* of Vatopedi, no. 334 of the Collège de France, Zavarnikeia, 11; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 35.

nationality or place of origin, and so form part of the category of toponymics. Names that suggest Slavic origin (for example, Voulgaros) are also impossible to interpret, either in terms of their precise ethnological meaning or in terms of the date of immigration of the families bearing that name, if, indeed, such immigration is posited, which seems doubtful. However, there is a more useful approach to the question of possible Slavic elements in the peasant population of Macedonia.

TABLE II

Break-down of toponymics according to region (theme of Thessaloniki)

	<i>Macedonia</i>		<i>Aegean</i>		<i>Asia Minor</i>		<i>Greece</i>		<i>Other Nationality</i>		<i>Slavic</i>		<i>Other</i>	
1300	(27)	37%	(6)	8%	(8)	11%	(9)	12%	(14)	19%	(6)	8%	(3)	4%
1321	(78)	43%	(24)	13%	(23)	13%	(12)	7%	(35)	19%	(3)	2%	(2)	1%
1341	(20)	50%	(4)	10%	(4)	10%	(4)	10%	(6)	15%	(2)	5%	(0)	

TABLE III

Slavic names (theme of Thessaloniki)

1300	(33)	8%
1321	(51)	5%
1341	(5)	3%

TABLE IV

Slavic names (theme of Strymon)²⁶

1316	(76)	26%
c. 1325	(8)	16%
1341	(70)	30%

The numbers in parentheses represent absolute figures.

²⁶ The *apographe* of 1316 includes the villages of Voriskos, Radolivos, Ovelos, Dovrovikeia, and that of 1341 includes Voriskos and Radolivos: Dölger, op. cit., *praktika* RK and RV. My sample for 1325 is from the villages of Semaltos, Hotolivos, and Zavarnikeia, from the unpublished *praktikon* for Vatopedi, Collège de France no. 334.

A certain number of the peasant families under examination have one or more members who bear a clearly Slavic name, such as Drazos, Sneagoula, Dragosthlavos, and so on. These families do not necessarily, indeed do not usually, have a proper name which denotes immigration from a Slavic region; rather, it is the names themselves which are Slavic. The percentages of the households whose heads bear such names are given in Table III for the theme of Thessaloniki. It can be readily seen that these proportions are very low.

On the contrary, in the theme of Strymon and the area around Strumica the presence of Slavic names is much more evident.²⁷ The proportions given in Table IV represent an underestimate of the true representation of Slavic names, because of a technical problem. In this area, we frequently have several families grouped into a single household, and in order to keep to the pattern established up to now, I have taken into account *only* the names of the heads of household. Sometimes, however, the head of household may have a neutral name, such as George, while his brother, who heads another family in the same household, may have a Slavic name, such as Stanisthlavos. Such cases are discounted in my calculations. Even so, it is immediately obvious that the number of households headed by men with Slavic names is much larger than in the theme of Thessaloniki. The proportion becomes overwhelming in the area around Strumica, for which we have an unpublished *praktikon* for the monastery of Iveron, dating from 1320.²⁸ Here, 76 per cent of the 55 households are headed by people with Slavic names.

Of course, it would be a dangerous game to try to draw firm conclusions about the ethnic composition of the Macedonian countryside in the fourteenth century, merely on the evidence of names. However, this evidence should not be disregarded. Although it proves nothing, it suggests that the Slavic element of the rural population was rather weak in the theme of

27. Even here there seems to be great variation from place to place. In the Slavic *praktikon* of the monastery of Chilandar, which concerns an area near Strumica, the number of households with Slavic names is limited to 23 out of 127, i.e. 18 per cent. This *praktikon* has been published by V. Mošin, 'Akti iz Svetogorskich archiva', *Spomennik der Kgl. Serb. Akademie*, 2. ser., *Philos.-Philologische Klasse*, LXX, 5 (Belgrade, 1939), pp. 205–18.

28. No. 43 of the Collège de France.

Thessaloniki, rather stronger in the theme of Strymon, and very strong in Strumica and its environs. In this connection, one is reminded of the experience of Nicephorus Gregoras, who travelled through Strumica on his way to Stephen Dečanski, King of the Serbians, in 1327. He found the area heavily wooded, cold, inhospitable, and wild, and its inhabitants much suited to the climate. He had difficulty understanding them, for they did not speak Greek, but Slavic of some kind. Gregoras calls them *ἄποικοι Μυσῶν*, which might indicate that their language was related to Bulgarian.²⁹

Among the 'Other Nationalities' in Table II are a small number of individuals whose presence among the peasants of Macedonia arouses the imagination. Who was the man called *Μπέρον ὁ Φράγγος*, who, in 1301, was settled in Kato Volvos, in a domain of Iveron, was married, had a sister named Maria, property consisting of four pigs, and was paying one-third of a *hyperpyron* as tax?³⁰ He is never found again in the other *apographai*, but a poverty-stricken, over-taxed Frank, living among Greek *paroikoi*, makes one wonder about the fate of the remnants of western settlers after the fall of the Latin Empire. In 1321, there was, in the village of Gomatou, a man named Michael Vasmoulios, who replaced a *paroikos* named Gomaras on the latter's *stasis*. He was married, had a son, possessed a horse and a cow, a tiny piece of vineyard and a garden, and paid a tax of two-thirds of a *hyperpyron*. Here, perhaps, is a living example of the settlement of some Gasmouloi on the land, after the dissolution of the imperial fleet in 1285.³¹ And then, there is 'John of the Jews' (*Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων*), who had married the daughter or granddaughter of a priest, was settled in Gomatou, and, in 1300, paid no taxes and had no property. That he was a recent convert is indicated by the description of him in 1321: 'John the Baptized' (*Ἰωάννης ὁ Βεβαπτισμένος*).³² He now had three sons and a daughter, possessed some animals, a vineyard and a few fruit trees, and paid a tax of one *hyperpyron*.

29. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, I (CSHB, 1829), pp. 374–83, especially p. 378.

30. Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 33. Cf. also *Ἰντάλκος ὁ τοῦ Δομενίκου*, Lavra *praktikon* of 1321, Collège de France no. 109, Agia Euphemia, 35.

31. Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 86. Cf. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 60, 64, 75.

32. Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 31; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 58.

He was clearly settled for good, this converted Jew, but his past raises questions: was he from the village itself, had he come from the city, had he been passing through, had he converted for religious reasons, for social acceptance, or for love of his wife Theodora?³³

Identification through family ties and nicknames

As can be seen in Table I, these are by far the most extensive, and therefore the most commonly used means of identification. The family relationship is often used as identifier, even when the person described has already been identified by profession or by a name denoting place of origin. Nicknames are, as always, formed either from personal traits (Polypeiros, Kofos, Varvanto), or from a non-stated relationship to someone else (Nikephoria, Engoponia). In this latter category we must also place those people whose names began as baptismal names and developed into family names, thus identifying not a single individual but his descendants as well. Such seems to have been the case of a man who, in 1301, is simply identified as *Παναγιώτης ὁ σύγαμβρος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζαγγαρίου*. The 'Panagiotēs' in this case is either a baptismal name or a toponymic (i.e. from the village of Panagia), but most probably the first. In 1321, Panagiotēs' son is known as *Δημήτριος ὁ Παναγιώτης*, and in 1341 another son also has the name *Ἰωάννης ὁ Παναγιώτης*. In the third generation, also in 1341, we find a *Νικόλαος, υἱὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ Παναγιώτου*; it may be assumed that he also was known as *Νικόλαος ὁ Παναγιώτης*.³⁴ A similar case appears in the same village. In 1301, there is a man who is simply identified as Zaharias. In 1321, we find that his daughter, Maria, is married to a man known as *Γεώργιος, ὁ γαμβρὸς τοῦ Ζαχαρίου*. In 1341, this same man appears as *Γεώργιος ὁ Ζαχαρίας*.³⁵ A baptismal name has become a family name, and is used to identify not a man's son, but his son-in-law.

33. On the Jews in this period, see D. Jacoby, 'Les juifs vénitiens de Constantinople et leur communauté du XIII^e au milieu du XV^e siècle', *Revue d'études juives*, CXXXI (1972), 397–410.

34. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 28; Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 24; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 20, 22.

35. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 24; Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 21; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 18.

Identification through family relationships is made in various ways. The figure in Table I is kept low by the fact that I have included *primarily* (though not solely) those who are not otherwise identified. For example, an entry such as 'Michael, brother of Nikolaos Chalkeus', would be placed in this category, whereas 'Michael Chalkeus, brother of Nikolaos' would not be. Even with this stricture, it is a large category, suggesting that the kinship tie was one of the strongest ways of identification. The most common relationships which are used for identification are: son (or daughter), brother, in-law (often the distinction is drawn between son-in-law and brother-in-law) and, more rarely, 'nephew or niece'. Interestingly, when the relationship is inter-generational, it is almost always stated in a way which gives precedence to the older generation: a man is very often identified as someone's son-in-law, whereas a head of household is almost never identified as someone's father-in-law.

Identification through family ties does not hold to hard-and-fast rules. In the case of widows, for example, the identification is made sometimes through their husbands, but sometimes also through their fathers, and either identification may be passed on to their children. Maria, the daughter of Georgios Platanas, was already married to a man named Ioannes Rapses in the *apographe* of 1300, but in that of 1321 she appears as *χήρα Μαρία ἡ Πλατανώ*, thus keeping her father's name.³⁶ In 1301, Zoe, daughter of Theodoros Tzykalas, was married to a man named Michael, but after his death she appears as *χήρα Ζωή ἡ Τζυκαλώ*, and her daughter, a widow in 1341, continues to keep the name of her paternal grandfather, being known as *Ἄννα χήρα ἡ Τζυκαλώ*.³⁷ Is it a case of a poor man, or a recent immigrant, being married into an established village family, and adopting the name?

In the case of women, it is more usual for the marriage tie to supersede the blood tie and so most widows are known by the

36. Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 51, 52; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 74; cf. above, pp. 79–80.

37. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 46. Cf. also, Lavra, Collège de France no. 91, Gradista, 1300, 3; Lavra, Gradista, 1321, 5, 30; also, Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1321, 8, 26, and L. Petit, *Actes de l'Athos*, I: *Actes de Xénophon, Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, X, Appendix I (1903), Stomion, 1338, 5.

name of their husbands. The examples are too numerous to mention, except perhaps for the striking case of two widows living in the village Stomion, in the domain of Xenophon in 1338. One, Argyre, is known as 'the wife of Kelliotes' while the other, Theodora, is known as the 'daughter of Kelliotes'.³⁸ Occasionally, the marriage tie proves very strong in the case of men also, and a man may shed his own name and adopt that of his wife's kin. Such is the case of Theodoros, who in 1300 was known as *ὁ γαμβρὸς Ξένου τοῦ Πέτζικα*, 'the in-law of Xenos Petzikas'. This in itself would not be strange, were it not that his son, Georgios, was known, in 1321, as *Γεώργιος ὁ Πέτζικας*, thus taking the name of his maternal grandfather.³⁹ Similar is the case of Michael, who, in 1301, was married to Eleni, daughter of Makedon; by 1317 he was known as *Μιχαήλ ὁ Μακεδών*, and continued to be so known in 1321 and 1341.⁴⁰

The fact that family ties were a very common way of identification reflects the actual situation in the villages for which we have information in the fourteenth century. A great number of families were related to each other, whether or not the relationship was used as a means of identification. Overall, the records show that in the theme of Thessaloniki 45 per cent of the households had some family relationship with at least one other household in 1300–1, 41 per cent in 1321, and 34 per cent in 1341. The real proportions may actually have been higher, since it must be remembered that the recording of such relationships was almost incidental in these fiscal documents. In the stable core of the village, that is, among those families which we can recover over the forty years of our documentation, the family ties were even more extensive.

It thus seems that identification through family relationships is the most natural one, and the one used by the villagers themselves. As a way of identifying a family over time, it had the disadvantage that each generation would almost have to identify itself anew; but within a small society, this was probably not much of a problem. The bureaucracy which drew up our

38. Xenophon, Stomion, 1338, 4, 5.

39. Lavra *praktikon*, Collège de France no. 91, Metalin, 1300, 14; Lavra *praktikon*, Collège de France no. 109, Metalin, 1321, 12.

40. Dölger, op. cit., Melintziani, 1301, 15; 1321, 15; 1341, 11. Cf. Dölger, op. cit., p. 26.

records, however, probably wanted a more efficient way. The relatively high incidence, and continuity over time, of names derived from professions or place of origin reflect on the one hand the fact that large segments of peasant society entered the ranks of the *paroikoi*, and on the other the demands of bureaucratic record-keeping. The development of proper names out of baptismal names is possibly an answer to the same need. Possibly, the use of names derived from professions and toponymics was superimposed, in a way, over the native system of identification through the family. In any case, this is a fourteenth-century phenomenon.

It is instructive to look again at the eleventh- and twelfth-century records, when the census of individual households of *paroikoi* was just beginning, and at the fifteenth century, when the Byzantines and then the Ottomans started once again to keep records, after a hiatus due to the disorganization of political and economic life. In both cases, identification is overwhelmingly by means of the family tie or the nickname. In the twelfth-century records of Lavra, 87 per cent of the heads of household are identified *only* by family relationships, or by a rubric such as *Τζέπωνος τοῦ Ἰωάννου*.⁴¹ In the *praktikon* for Andronikos Doukas, 30 per cent of the identifications are by nickname, and 47 per cent by family tie. Only 11 per cent of the people are identified by a name derived from profession, and 6 per cent by a toponymic.⁴² If we compare these figures to Table I, and remember that in Table I there is much double-identification, whereas in the *praktikon* for Doukas there is none, we will see that in the fourteenth century identification by craft and toponymic has assumed an important place at the expense of identification by family tie alone.

For fifteenth-century Macedonia, I have two small samples, one dated 1409, and the other dating from the end of the century. In the first sample, there are 74 identifiable heads of household, from the villages of Gomatou, Pinsson, and Drymosita. Only five of these 74 (7 per cent) are identified by craft or profession: two are named Chalkeus, one is a priest, one is named Flevotomos, and one is named Psomas. Only nine (12

41. Lemerle-Guillou-Svoronos-Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra*, I, nos. 64, 65.

42. Miklosich-Müller, *Acta*, VI, no. II.

per cent) are identified by a toponymic, and three (4 per cent) are mentioned by their first name only. The rest, that is 77 per cent of the population, are identified either by a nickname, or by a 'proper' name which derives from a baptismal name, or by a stated relationship to someone else.⁴³

The second sample consists of an Ottoman list of 77 heads of household, in the timar of Chauss Mehmed in the village of Gomatou. In the Bulgarian translation, which is the only one I can use, their names appear in the form 'Iani Kosta, Demo Kosta', which I take to be a translation from the Greek by way of Turkish of an entry which would read *Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Κώστα, Δημος ὁ τοῦ Κώστα (Κωνσταντίνου)*. Of the 68 households headed by men, 67 names are legible, and of these 42 (62 per cent) have *only* the form of identification just mentioned; all eight widows, heads of household, are identified as 'widow X, wife of Y'.⁴⁴ Thus, it seems clear that over time the most constant, common, and viable form of identification was stated or unstated family relationship, while identification by toponymic and craft, common in the first half of the fourteenth century, was less commonly used in the very early *apographai* and was no longer much used in the fifteenth century.

A rapid survey of the names of the *paroikoi* of fourteenth-century Macedonia yields some information about Byzantine rural society. It suggests that the ties of dependence were spreading to men who were not only peasants but also craftsmen. There is even a man called 'Stratiotes',⁴⁵ whose name may indicate that he was once a small landlord, and a soldier, but who subsequently declined into the class of *paroikoi*. It is also obvious that among the peasants of Macedonia there were some who had immigrated from other regions of the Empire, into what may have seemed a safe area.

In terms of the continuity of names, it may be observed that family names could be and were passed down the male or the female line. Sometimes a man assumed the name of his wife's

43. *Praktikon* of P. Gazes, G. Pringeps (for Lavra [1409]), Collège de France no. 215.

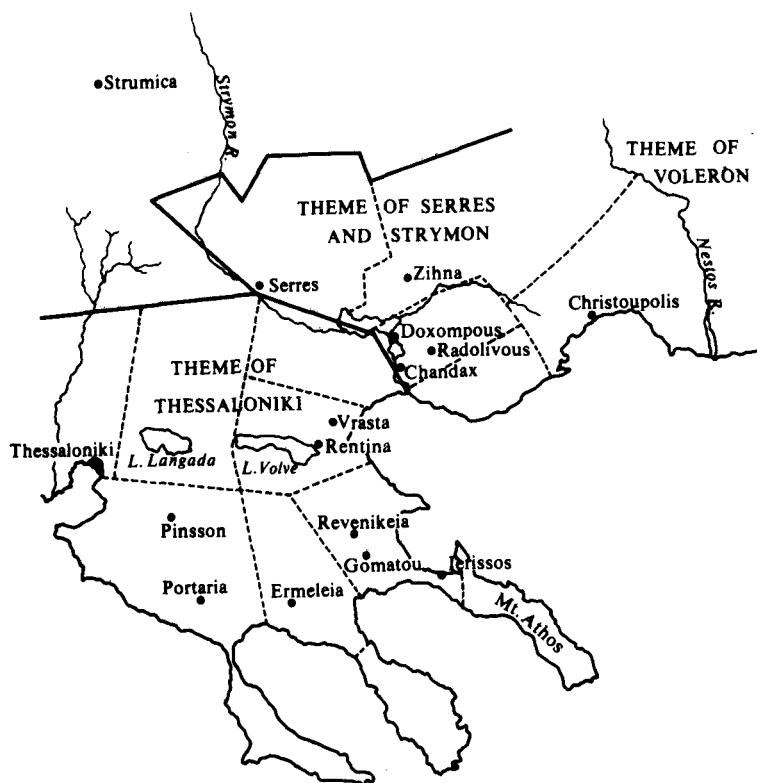
44. *Turški izvori za B'lgarskata istorija*, ser. XV–XVI, no. II, edd. N. Todorov and B. Nedkov (*Izvori za B'lgarskata istorija*, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 1966), p. 451.

45. Lavra, Agia Euphemia, 1321, 19.

family; at other times, he kept his own name, but she continued to be known by her father's (or sometimes her mother's) name; in either case, the children might also inherit their mother's name. It was, however, much more usual for names to continue through the male line, and it was very common for widows to be known by their husbands' first name: thus, for example, *Μαρία χήρα ἡ Νικηφορία*.

The record-keeping to which we owe our sources reflects each landlord's desire to have his *paroikoi* listed, so that he would have proof that they belonged to him, and could try to recover them if they fled to another landlord. The influence of the bureaucracy can, I think, be seen in the fact that there are very few *paroikoi* who are recorded by their first name only. The bureaucratic hand is also, perhaps, responsible for the frequent multiple identification of individuals. The fourteenth-century Byzantine *paroikos* was a man whose every close relative and every possession was known to his landlord and to the state. And yet, despite this fact, and despite the presumed effort of the landlord to keep his *paroikoi* on the domain, there was in this period a significant movement of families of *paroikoi* out of the monastic lands into places where we cannot find them, because of the paucity of the sources. Sometimes we find a man's *stasis*—the landed possessions for which he paid his taxes—still known by the name of the *paroikos* who has left, but now owned by another man. And in some areas it is mostly through these *exaleimmatika staseia* that we can recover information about peasant names.

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THE THEMES OF THESSALONIKI AND STRYMON IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

[From: G. I. Theoharides, *Τὰ κατεπανίκια τῆς Μακεδονίας*,
and P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papa-
chryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra, Première partie.*]